

Table 15

Comparison of years of absence from home
village with planting of cash crops

<u>Total years Absence from Village</u>	<u>Number of Coffee or Cocoa Trees</u>	<u>Code No. of Household Head</u>
38	see note (a) in Table 14	8
7	288	4
5	335	1
5	178	3
5	0	6
4	150	7
4	0	5
0	0	2

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There is also a close association between status in the village and the planting of cash crops. The three persons with highest status in the village are the previous head of the joint sub-clans who has now gone to the government resettlement scheme where he has planted more cash crops than any villager, (1) the subsequent head of the joint sub-clan who has most (335) coffee trees and the councillor (who is son of a former head of the sub-clan) who has the next most (288). It is clear (and supported by comparison with neighbouring villages) that those with highest status in the community are the ones most likely to plant cash crops or likely to plant most. Evidence elsewhere in the Pacific suggests that the man of influence is shifting his emphasis from traditional means of gaining prestige to modern ones based on the acquisition of money. It appears that this trend is taking place in the Popondetta area also.

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It might be mentioned incidentally that Keesing (1951:5-14) considered the Orokaiva to be culturally predisposed to absorb the types of traumatic change of residence and social relations which were a consequence of extensive and persistent

(1) He has planted 1,161 cocoa trees.

121 warfare. He sees their personality attributes as being "con-
159 gruent with the social structure that favours individuality and
mobility". Reay (1953:111) states that Orokaiva men are en-
couraged to be highly individualistic. Superficially at least,
these views would suggest that the Orokaiva would tend to be
receptive to the changes currently being wrought by cash
cropping and paid labour though, as Keesing points out, their
reaction will be dependent on the monetary and other incentives
which these activities provide.

242 Extension services: McCarthy (1962:110) notes that
659 the Orokaiva people "suffered at the hands of the Yodda valley
177 goldseekers at the end of the nineteenth century and the severity
of the magistrate Monckton at the beginning of the new century,
and it is said that they have not forgiven either occasion."
Subsequent contact experiences have not been such as to alter
their attitudes very greatly, and this situation detracts from the
effectiveness of the available extension services.

242 No agricultural extension workers had visited Inonda
during the twelve months preceding our visit and it is understood
that extension patrols seldom call there more than once a year,
and then only for brief visits. Several Inonda people attended a
one-day extension class on coffee harvesting at Popondetta during
our stay, but this was the only such class they had been aware
of in that year. People can, of course, consult extension
officers in Popondetta at any time, but as a result of language
difficulties and social distance the Inonda people do not take
advantage of this facility. The number of extension staff at
present in the area is quite inadequate to serve the needs of a
community which has only recently become aware of the tech-
niques and potential of cash cropping. More extension services
would probably result in extension of cash crop plantings, im-
proved husbandry, and higher output. Pig production could also
be expanded to the limits of the existing market.

441 Transport and marketing: With the completion of
the Girua road there will be all-weather road access to both
Popondetta and the port of Oro Bay which is soon to be developed
489 to handle overseas shipping. There is at present no commercial
transport service to take produce to market and none of the
villagers have transport of their own. The quantity of pro-

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as a first step in their wider rehabilitation. Lectures were given by Europeans, adult illiterates were taught the three "r's" sports were organized, and as a welfare measure the old people were given prepared meals in a "soup kitchen." Once again the response was enthusiastic, indicating a real demand. As refugees moved out of the camp back to villages, it was common for young men who had missed their Mission schooling, or who considered that schooling to be insufficient, to return to Ilimo for the sole purpose of continuing their instruction. Unfortunately, under the unsettled conditions they had to be sent home again. 731

As soon as the danger area had been determined villages outside it were re-started, leaving only 1,500 people at Ilimo by April. These 1,500 people were not permitted to return to their village sites except under special passes to obtain garden produce. An administrative officer was detailed to undertake research into native land tenure and social groupings in the area with a view to determining sites for re-settlement.³ As a result of his recommendations these refugees were returned to certain areas of land which they were said to own, or which had been granted to them by neighbouring villages. Women remained at Ilimo until shelters had been erected for them, but by June they had rejoined their husbands and the camps were evacuated. A Government patrol post was set up at Saiho in the centre of the evacuation area, and medical facilities were transferred to Saiho from Ilimo.

The policy behind these moves was aimed at re-establishing gardens in the shortest possible time, and the building of an improved style village-system. In addition consideration was given to the possibility of large-scale community development. But there were many difficulties in the way, and the method of carrying out the policy often created further difficulties.

In *Orokaiva Society* Williams characterises the people as being fierce fighters but gentle and harmonious in their domestic and intra-group relations. Whether or not that was true twenty years ago, Europeans with recent experience of them say that they are now highly excitable, with rapidly inflamed tempers which, however, quickly subside. When under the influence of temper they are said to be violent, and to vent their violence on people near at hand, particularly wives. There is a tendency towards suicide in the case of disappointed love or the loss of children, and they will throw hysterical fits. In view of these conflicting accounts it is impossible for me to judge whether the emotional activity I observed after the volcano was a mere passing phase or represented deeper emotional states. At the same time there were a number of influences present which certainly did nothing to reduce nervous tensions. 157 152 (162)

It is not difficult to describe these. The people were in refugee camps, and the atmosphere of refugee camps is almost always one of strict control, in contrast to the freedom of village life. Work had to be found to keep people occupied, and much of it was camp erection work that had no clear or immediate relevance to the desire 731

³ See memorandum by H. T. Plant, "Re-Establishment of Isalva Villages," March 24, 1951, with Map and Appendix on Land Ownership, Class and Tribal Groupings. (113)

614 its efforts upon what were then the Jegase and Timamu clans, to the
463 exclusion of Seho. When my wife and I came to Sivepe, Jegase at once
177 claimed us, built our house for us and was ready to perpetuate the
123 familiar "special relationship" before I had a chance to assess the
situation.

614 In terms of economic development, this extra experience of
Jegase did not actually make much difference. Seho grew just as much
177 coffee; the Seho clan leader was always in the vanguard for innovations
184 such as the Malayan rubber trees; Seho had about as much money income
as Jegase, except that Jegase received more cheques from town workers
married to locally resident women. It must be remembered that the
educational background of the Jegase men was still rather limited and
insufficient to open up the more remunerative avenues of employment.
The younger generation of Seho was just as well educated as the younger
generation of Jegase; in fact, the only person to have reached Form II
was a Seho boy whose father had no schooling but a few years' work
experience before marriage.

614 Finally, the leader of the Seho clan (without schooling, but
157 with brief experience in the A.P.C. before the eruption) made up in
shrewdness what he lacked in facility. Europeans who had dealings
with Sivepe over land and other issues found him tough and calculating
negotiator who knew as well as anyone how to safeguard the interests
of his village and press for whatever blessings of the modern age might
become available. As "committee" for Sivepe, he was a stern champion
of village decorum. I have seen several other villages which vowed
to eliminate pigs, but in these villages one could usually still find
a very tiny piglet, so small you could hardly see it, which signified
the hardness of the old dispensation; in Sivepe, one only saw dead
pigs. He would have no weeds, no houses out of alignment, no late
noise; whatever the Australians chose to define as the spirit of
progress, was strictly enforced by this leader.

871 The younger people are mostly going as far as they can (up to
Standard 6) at Sasembata School; so far only one has gone further.
614 One young man, who had finished Standard 6 and a young woman who had
done Standard 4, but was intellectually brilliant were regarded in the
184 village as the educated elite; both were just above 20 years of age.
They were both from Jegase households; they both helped us considerably
as interpreters. It is likely that the Sasembata school produced
others as competent, but they would have left for jobs elsewhere.

184 I have already pointed out that in Inonda there was less homogeneity.
One man was markedly more educated than anyone in Sivepe; nearly all
had been away on paid employment for long periods (longer than at
Sivepe). The educated leader, attracting to himself other men with
some education, was able to act as a kind of entrepreneur and thus two
different patterns of life became established, emphasised by the
persisting neglect of cash-cropping by one section. Two young and
vigorous men who might well have grown coffee prefer to depend for
cash on temporary plantation jobs.

Table 4

Correlations for each test

	Cube Imitation	Bead Threading	Passalong	Form Assembly	Pattern Matching	Kim Game	Gestalt Continu- ation	Total test score	Age	Standard reached	Years at school
Cube Imitation	-	542	273	554	334	413	397	687	-186	394	339
Bead Threading		-	337	460	244	251	255	569	-213	237	239
Passalong			-	261	435	364	386	610	-338	383	350
Form Assembly				-	494	265	448	650	-166	411	358
Pattern Matching					-	415	613	720	-309	639	584
Kim Game						-	405	790	-331	379	329
Gestalt Con- tinuation							-	682	-385	492	416
Total test score								-	-410	597	530
Age									-	-575	-530
Standard reached										-	906

Decimal points have been omitted.

9: Kearney

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(1963) 1966

0.73 Orokaiva 0.73

Table 5

Analysis of variance between the samples

Source	Sum of squares	d/f	Variance estimate	F ratio	Significance
Between samples	3,737.2	6	622.866	6.931	**
Within samples	11,951.0	133	89.857		
Total	15,688.2	139			

** denotes significance $p < 0.01$.

Table 6

The t values between the samples

Sample	Beporo	Ex-servicemen settlers	Borugasusu	Inonda	Plantation labourers	Sivepe	Ongoho
Beporo	-	2.09*	3.67**	**	**	**	**
Ex-servicemen settlers		-	1.17	1.5	1.7	2.1*	3.8**
Borugasusu			-	< 1	< 1	1.2	3.0**
Inonda				-	< 1	< 1	2.1*
Plantation labourers					-	< 1	2.1*
Sivepe						-	1.4
Ongoho							-

The samples have been arranged here in descending order of magnitude.

* denotes significance at $p < 0.05$.** denotes significance at $p < 0.01$.

177 husbands of his sisters' daughters, as is customary. Most of all, he
623 was a careful man who put whatever he accumulated to the most prudent
471 use. In his capacity of clan leader and village leader, he controlled
two corporate savings accounts, one of \$158, the other smaller and
secret; people had full confidence that deposits were entirely safe
in his care. Though he would never express himself in such terms, he
was actually leading his people into a state of solid and (hopefully)
economically viable peasantry.

177 I asked him what he thought were the qualifications of a leader.
623 A leader, he said, must be very smart and understanding, have a lot
of garden and make a feast; then the people will join him. They don't
appoint him but he stands out by his farming, gardening, feasts. He
[157] is usually an elderly man.

Not only Lawrence, but also all other informants insisted that
leadership was not hereditary, even though a leader may desire a certain
son to succeed him. After the old leader is dead, the living are free
to make their own decision. Lawrence rejected the idea that the
councillors are the present leaders of the community. The ancestors,
he said, decided what people ought to do. They had talked all this
over. Then the "two-bob councillors" came; all they care about is to
carry out the government's orders. They don't really direct the people.
All the same, Lawrence was well aware of the influence of the councillors.
It was when they were established, he said, that the old way of thinking
was upset. The village constable did not make important changes, though
sometimes people went to jail for some trouble. In spite of these
views, Lawrence went to no particular trouble to keep old customs
alive; when he entertained Togahou village, there were far fewer
ceremonial features than I saw at a feast at Inonda.

115 As an informant I found him entertaining but of limited usefulness.
He was at first very reluctant, and later allowed himself to
be interviewed, using the occasion as a battle of wits. Never once
did he tell a direct lie, but his answers were cunningly planned with
the intent to mislead. My part of the game was to get at the truth
and in this game he was a most ingenious opponent. Sometimes he tried
to conceal what seemed to me a most innocuous piece of information;
thus, he alerted me to institutions I might otherwise have overlooked.
No statement he made could be accepted on its face value. In this he
differed from other informants less in intent than in ingenuity.

123 The other key personalities at the time of my visit were all
159 Jigase. As I had been apportioned to my clan, they were much more
helpful with information. They adopted me as a sort of fictional
clanman whereas to Lawrence I must have been a fictional affine. My
closest associate in the village was actually the son-in-law Lawrence
disliked, Robert, my neighbour. He was a man of about 32 who had most
[550] of the qualities admired by the Orokaiva: a fine dancer, with charm,
modest bearing, wisdom and foresight in handling social situations and
conflicts; he was generous with his possessions and did not importune
others for gifts; he was a good gardener, builder and worker, ready

159 external representation of Sivepe was at stake, the two men worked together admirably as a team. Lawrence solved the tricky problems of partitioning blocks shared between villages with a speed which would make any surveyor envious, and got agreement from the other parties because the solutions he proposed seemed fair. Robert carried out his own function of seeing that the working parties came together, that the clearing work was done for the survey posts, and so on. However, when I took them both to Popondetta in my car, they had very little to say to each other. When I told Lawrence who his companion was to be, he gave me a look of mock despair. (He had a different look of mock despair for my use of the Orokaiva language.)

[829] Robert was more deeply involved with mission values than any of the others. He was the only one to have recognised that our civilisation actually does have some moral values. I recorded stories [126] from a great many informants on tape--the subjects being usually [124] selected by the informant for these longer texts. Robert was the only one to have chosen themes overtly showing a mission influence: one story was about a Father Holland who was betrayed to the Japanese by Orokaiva during the war; the other story was his own version of Adam and Eve and the Fall, to which he gave a splendid Orokaiva twist: God, dismissing the couple from the Garden of Eden, said: "For a long time you will have sorrowful days and be sad, but also you will have happy days and be happy. Thus he spoke and all of us today live in this manner."

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157 To conclude these impressionistic sketches, I shall suggest a contrast between the leadership of Sivepe and Inonda. When we consider the two men just described, or Samuel, the village constable, Robert's father and the councillor, an immigrant from Binduta, we notice that none of them stood out from the rest of the village by superior wealth. Certainly, Robert's father once gave a big feast in Sivepe; he had some savings and gave another small feast while I was in the village, but he stood out mainly in virtue of his role and his personality. The councillor was a consummate actor who exuded a great air of authority while he was in the council. But in Inonda, the village constable, Oriri, was at the same time an entrepreneur, the first cash cropper. He was also the occupier of a strikingly larger area of land than anyone else had. His son, Stephen, the driver, likewise was very much an entrepreneur, both in his cash-cropping ventures and in his attempt at a trade store, at trading in coffee, in vegetables and lately, his application for a loan to start a cattle farm. He is not intending to do the farming himself, but wants to have a younger brother-in-law trained, and he is to work under Stephen's supervision.

Both Stephen and Oriri still continue their interest in traditional observances. The father, who lives on a returned servicemen's section where he grows cocoa, came back to his home village to act as feast leader in 1967. This was very much a traditional affair, with a proper feast house, a ceremony to call down the spirits, chants and dances for the spirits for several weeks, something Sivepe would

571 not care to do with the mission quite so close. On this occasion the
157 village looked more harmonious than I saw it at other times; the pagan
half was fully able to join in.

The main difference in leadership--the premise of equality in Sivepe, the "big man" complex (see Sahlins, 1963, etc.) in Inonda--is probably attributable to an organisational difference between the mountain and coastal villages. In all my contacts with coastal people I have noticed the same posture of the "big man" among the persons of high rank. In the Sasembata district, however, it is not so easily tolerated if a man tries to stand above his fellows. There was a talented entrepreneur in Hamburata village, but this man was more interested in heading a cooperative than in purely private or family aggrandisement. There are, however, cooperatives on the coast also, and the case of Inonda may not be a typical one.

Section 4: Marginal Individuals

157 In this section the attempt at comparing the two villages broke
down. This was because Inonda had as far as I know only one outstandingly marginal individual and shortly after I arrived they put him in
[685] jail. He had broken into a store with a hammer belonging to another villager; the other villager was apprehended by the police and successfully proved he had been framed.

124 In Sivepe, there were several marginal individuals some of whom
157 became key personalities, I think, mainly because of our presence.
Both our interpreters fell into that category. One of them was an unmarried mother and therefore already marginal. She was also
123 extremely intelligent, knew English rather well, was the secretary of the women's club. Her position was weakened because her father and mother were both dead; the father of her child came from her father's village; she therefore had been sent to her mother's village. Here she reached prominence in the affairs of the women's club and as our interpreter (she always translated holding or feeding the baby, but most reliably) but her position in her mother's brother's house was a delicate one and she had to leave her mother's father's house where she lived earlier. Although she was attractive, and only 22 years of age, her chances of marriage were thought extremely dim. She exploited to the full the chances of power provided by her association with us, especially in the earlier period when I understood no Orokaiva at all.

The other interpreter, also about 22, was Robert's younger brother. While Patricia, the women's club secretary, was extremely gregarious and adept at handling people, Leon, with a Standard 6 education, and the leading male expert in the English language and other school knowledge, was unusually shy. He was hardly ever seen talking spontaneously to any of the married men. He heartily disliked the interview situation and other duties that would draw him into the public. This tendency

124 was much less marked when I took him with me to Inonda. He was a
123 bachelor who had a penchant for courting girls he was, for some reason,
157 unable to marry. While we were in Sivepe, his girl friend, though
[592] belonging to the Seho clan was rather too closely related to him on
her mother's side. Her father was Lawrence's elder brother and the
Seho clan generally was strongly opposed to the union; they therefore
treated the affair as incestuous. The mission had wanted to send
Leon for training in hospital work. He had been doing some of this
at Sasembata, and it would have suited him. His father opposed the
idea, considering that his knowledge of English, etc. would be too
useful to lose. When I came, his calculation proved right, for Leon's
presence and employment drew me, for some months, into a position of
much dependence on that family. Leon was the only young man who did
not join in the drum dances, and who never sat with the other men.
Perhaps, his bachelor status partly explains this, but another bachelor
of the same age did not keep away to nearly the same extent.

177 One difference between Inonda and Sivepe was that in the former
184 place there was only one family through which adaptive ideas and
decisions were transmitted to the community, and in practice only one
man, whereas in Sivepe, there was a variety of influences: the Seho
leader, the two older, and in many ways totally different older Jagase
leaders, and several younger people each with their own fund of experience
which helped them to interpret a changing social situation. This
difference results not only from a different organisational pattern
(based respectively on the "big man" and the equality ideology) but
also from the mere difference of size. It may be argued that some at
least of the multitude of avenues through which the modern world was
made accessible to Sivepe was due to post-eruption measures in the
resettlement villages. Of the leaders discussed here, however, not a
single one (except the two young interpreters who were scarcely leaders)
[777] was educated in the post-eruption period. They may have been influenced
by their close association with the mission; if so, it is hard to say
to what extent this association explains their present attitudes. One
may safely say that the association with the mission at the present
time reinforces the change-directed ideology of Sivepe leadership.

361 mingled more freely as a result of travel on the government
 571 roads and trails (which they have to keep in order), trading,
 224 Mission and official gatherings, and other new opportunities
 (629) for interpersonal relations. One special feature of Orokaiva
 311 life in modern times is the annual burning-off of grasslands
 by hunting parties in order to get wild game. This has
 probably involved the assembly of larger groups and is one
 of the few activities which could induce inter-settlement co-
 operation. The writer sensed the parallel of the crude local
 fires set for garden clearing and the general burning-off
 of grasslands to the major burning and blackening in the
 wake of the volcano—doubtless a mighty job of clearing to
 the Orokaiva eye.

157 Within the limits that brief characterizations of personality
 norms can be valid, observers seem to agree that the Oro-
 kaiva as individuals have traits congruent with the social
 structure that favor individuality and mobility. Even the
 casual visitor gets a sense of independence, alertness, self-
 reliance, "strong talking," dignity, restraint, imperturbability
 at meeting the unexpected event, and high-tension inter-
 personal behavior in general. This is in particularly striking
 contrast to such an elaborately structured society as that
 of Samoa, where the writer had been working shortly before.
 In informal groups seen around the camps and waiting at
 airfields for transport, women and children, far from being
 in the background, kept up a busy verbal exchange with the
 men. The Administration has considered the Orokaiva ter-
 (657) ritory as perhaps the best recruiting ground for its Royal
 (625) Papuan Constabulary on the basis of these personality char-
 acteristics, including ability to meet crisis conditions such
 as patrols may encounter.

771 The Orokaiva religious history is also particularly inter-
 esting here. Their traditional faith, Williams says, though
 in many respects vague and locally variable, concerned itself
 "primarily with the spirits of the dead" and their influence
 on the welfare of the living. Death was appraised with
 (761) particular realism, although it was considered ultimately as
 (7189) the result of supernatural causes. Magic had a consistent
 794 place. Orokaiva country, however, has been swept in modern
 times by a series of new cults indicative of religious adap-
 tability in the face of fresh experience. First to come into
 prominence was the *Baigons*, or "snake cult" of 1911-12,
 succeeded from 1914 on by the so-called "Taro cult" which
 in turn had undergone a series of local reformulations by
 the time Williams reported on it in 1924.⁷ Central features
 of the Taro cult were association of successful taro cultiva-
 tion with the ancestral spirits, approached by way of a
 "shaking-fit" technique of revelation, together with some-
 what new types of public ritual and symbols, including frag-
 mentary elements from Christianity. Later Belshaw and
 others reported that "Christian Co-operative Evangelist"
 societies, which were developed by the Anglican Mission
 among some Orokaiva converts for the cooperative growing
 of rice and other crops, tended to assume a somewhat parallel
 and absorbing mystical agriculture context. Rumors spread
 of "an order from the King (of England) that co-operatives

7. *Orokaiva Magic*, Part I; see also Chinnery, E. W. F. and Had-
 doun, A. C., "Five New Religious Cults in British New Guinea,"
 (113) *Hibbert Journal*, 15, 3 pp. 448-463 (1917). Materials are also found
 in the official reports of the time.